

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-02
IO-13 /073 W
-----150651Z 034965 /11

R 141415Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2264
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USMISSION BERLIN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 PRAGUE 0667

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, CSCE, ETRD, YU, CZ
SUBJECT: CZECHOSLOVAK VIEWS RE BELGRADE 77

1. SUMMARY: DCM MET MFA BASIC FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS OFFICER JIRI JAMBOR FOR TOUR D'HORIZON OF CZECHOSLOVAK VIEWS ON CSCE DEVELOPMENTS EN ROUTE TO BELGRADE 77. JAMBOR EXPECTED CONTINUING EAST-WEST IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE, SPARKED BY THE CURRENT STRUGGLE OVER HUMAN RIGHTS, BUT HOPED THE WEST WOULD NOT CARRY MATTERS TO EXTREMES. IF THIS HAPPENED, HE CAUTIONED, THE EAST WOULD REACT NOT ONLY ON CSCE ISSUES BUT ALSO ON OTHER MORE SENSITIVE PROBLEMS--POSSIBLY INCLUDING BERLIN. A REVIEW OF BASKETS 1, 2 AND 3 BROKE NO NEW GROUND.

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END SUMMARY.

2. JAMBOR OPENED DISCUSSION BY STRESSING THAT CSCE HAS BEEN BUT ONE ELEMENT IN THE "STILL FRAGILE" STRUCTURE OF DETENTE AND MUST CONTINUE TO BE SEEN IN THAT CONTEXT. HE RECALLED THAT THE EAST HAD BEEN OBLIGED TO MAKE CONCESSIONS THAT LED TO NEGOTIATION OF THE 1971 QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON BERLIN AND THE 1972

EXPLORATORY TALKS ON MBFR BEFORE THE WEST AGREED EVEN TO PREPARATORY TALKS ON CSCE. HE CAUTIONED THAT IN APPROACHING BELGRADE 77 THE WEST SHOULD NOT "ROCK THE BOAT" TOO MUCH ON HUMAN RIGHTS OR ELSE THE EAST WILL INEVITABLY REACT--NOT JUST ON CSCE QUESTIONS, BUT ALSO ON OTHER PROBLEM AREAS. JAMBOR CLEARLY SEEMED TO BE WARNING MAINLY OF POSSIBLE TROUBLE IN BERLIN.

3. DCM TOOK THE POSITION THAT ALL NATO ALLIES HAD MADE CLEAR THEIR DESIRE TO CONTINUE REASONABLE EFFORTS TO BUILD DETENTE IN EUROPE. AS FOR WESTERN, INCLUDING USG, CONCERN OVER HUMAN RIGHTS, IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT WESTERN PARTICIPANTS AT CSCE WOULD SPEAK OUT WHEN THERE WAS OBVIOUS DISINCLINATION BY OTHER PARTICIPANTS TO IMPLEMENT IN GOOD FAITH PRINCIPLE 7 OF THE CSCE FINAL ACT, CALLING FOR RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. DCM OBSERVED THAT THE WEST HAD LONG BEEN LECTURED ON THE THEME THAT WHILE PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE WAS DESIRABLE, IT COULD NOT INCLUDE IDEOLOGICAL COEXISTENCE; THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE MUST GO ON. THE WEST DOES NOT WANT IT THIS WAY, BUT THE EAST HOLDS RIGIDLY TO THIS PRECEPT. THUS, IT CANNOT SEEM "SURPRISING" OR AT ALL ILLOGICAL IF USG AND OTHER WESTERN NATIONS SPEAK THEIR PIECE IN DEFENDING THEIR IDEAS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS. THEY CANNOT BE EXPECTED TO REMAIN SILENT ON THESE BASIC ISSUES. JAMBOR SIMPLY REPEATED HIS HOPE THAT MATTERS WOULD NOT GET OUT OF HAND.

4. LOOKING AT PROCEDURAL APPROACH TO BELGRADE 77, JAMBOR HOPED THE PREPARATORY MEETING, OPENING IN JUNE, WOULD TAKE WHATEVER TIME IS REQUIRED TO WORK OUT AN ACCEPTABLE AGENDA AND LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR THE HIGH-LEVEL GATHERING IN THE FALL. HE SAID GOC HOPED THE CONFIDENTIAL

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LATTER MEETING WOULD BE "AS SHORT AS POSSIBLE" AND WOULD AVOID LENGTHY DEBATE ON NEW IDEAS SUPPLEMENTING FINAL ACT PROVISIONS. JAMBOR EXPECTED THE TALKS TO BE QUITE CANDID, WITH THE EAST FACING CRITICISM ON BASKET 3 MATTERS AND THE WEST ENCOUNTERING CRITICISM ON BASKET 2. IN REPLY, DCM MAINLY STRESSED USG VIEW THAT FOLLOW-UP TALKS SHOULD TAKE WHATEVER TIME IS NEEDED FOR A REASONABLE REVIEW OF FINAL ACT IMPLEMENTATION AND DISCUSSION ON NEXT STEPS.

5. BASKET 1. DCM NOTED WESTERN CONCERN OVER CONSISTENT AGIT-PROP EFFORTS IN THE EAST TO EMPHASIZE CSCE DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AS THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULT AT HELSINKI AND, BEYOND THIS, TO ASSERT THAT PRINCIPLES OF FRONTIER INVILABILITY AND NON-INTERFERENCE WERE MORE SIGNIFICANT THAN OTHERS. JAMBOR TRIED TO FINESSE THIS ISSUE BY INDICATING THAT PROPAGANDISTS ON BOTH SIDES WILL NATURALLY EMPHASIZE WHAT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO THEM. HE ACKNOWLEDGED, HOWEVER, THAT HE HAD JUST BEEN IN TOUCH WITH FOREIGN MINISTER CHNOUPEK TO EXPLAIN THAT ALL THE PRINCIPLES ARE TO BE "EQUALLY AND UNRESERVEDLY

APPLIED, EACH OF THEM BEING INTERPRETED TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE OTHERS." DCM WAS PLEASED THAT JAMBOR NOTED THIS IMPORTANT DISTINCTION AND MADE THE POINT THAT PRINCIPLE OF RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS THUS DESERVED EQUAL SIGNIFICANCE IN RELATION TO OTHER PRINCIPLES.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 PRAGUE 0667

6. CBMS. DCM NOTED TOTAL LACK OF CZECHOSLOVAK PARTICIPATION TO DATE IN CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES AND THOUGHT OVERALL EASTERN--INCLUDING

SOVIET--RECORD ON CBM'S WAS MOST DISAPPOINTING, WHEN COMPARED WITH RECORD OF NATO COUNTRIES. INTERESTINGLY, JAMBOR FRANKLY INDICATED THAT

SOVIETS HAD ABIDED BY THE "LETTER OF THE FINAL ACT, IF NOT SO MUCH THE SPIRIT." HE STILL FOUND IT "AMAZING", HOWEVER, THAT MOSCOW HAD EVER AGREED TO CBMS IN THE FIRST PLACE.

7. BASKET 2. JAMBOR CRITICIZED USG CONGRESSIONAL "DISCRIMINATION" AGAINST CZECHOSLOVAKIA BY BLOCKING MFN AND THE 1974 CLAIMS/GOLD

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SETTLEMENT. HE PERSONALLY THOUGHT CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDE WAS UNWISE AND COUNTERPRODUCTIVE IN THWARTING EFFORTS TO DEVELOP TRADE IN ORDINARY COMMODITIES; HE COULD "UNDERSTAND" RESTRICTIONS ON STRATEGIC ITEMS, BUT NOT ON NORMAL TRADE. DCM EXPRESSED VIEW THAT CONGRESS HAD RIGHT TO TAKE POSITION IT HAD, AND JAMBOR DID NOT DENY THIS. DCM NOTED CONTINUING CONFUSION IN PRAGUE OVER SO-CALLED COMMERCIAL REPRESENTATION OFFICES. US FIRMS HAD SHOWN INTEREST IN SUCH OFFICES BUT LEARNED FROM OTHER WESTERN COMPANIES THAT PROBLEMS OF TAXATION, RETENTION OF LOCAL WORK FORCE, AND ACCESS TO ADEQUATE FACILITIES WERE FAR FROM RESOLVED. DCM ASKED WHETHER THESE "OFFICES" EXISTED, IN FACT, ONLY ON PAPER. JAMBOR ADMITTED THERE HAD BEEN DIFFICULTIES IN OPENING THESE FACILITIES "DUE TO BUREAUCRATISM AND INERTIA" BUT SAID FOREIGN MINISTER CHNOUPEK WAS "FIGHTING" TO ESTABLISH SATISFACTORY OFFICE FACILITIES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

8. BASKET 3. DCM NOTED THAT EMBASSY WELCOMED WHAT PROGRESS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED SO FAR ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES INVOLVING CHILDREN (13 CASES RESOLVED OUT OF 20), BUT RECALLED EARLIER GOC INDICATIONS THAT THESE CASES WOULD LIKELY BE SETTLED IN JANUARY. DCM ASKED ABOUT REMAINING CASES AND OBSERVED THAT REGARDING PLETHORA OF OTHER REUNIFICATION CASES, NOT INVOLVING CHILDREN, THERE HAD BEEN HARDLY ANY PROGRESS SINCE LATE SPRING, 1976. JAMBOR MAINLY STRESSED, IN REPLY, THAT CURRENT WESTERN UPROAR OVER HUMAN RIGHTS WILL NOT HELP EXPEDITE SETTLEMENT OF SUCH CASES. ON FLOW OF INFORMATION, DCM RECALLED REPEATED GOC INDICATIONS THAT SOME MAJOR WESTERN NEWSPAPERS WOULD BE CIRCULATED IN DESIGNATED PUBLIC PLACES IN CZECHOSLOVAK CITIES IN 1977, BUT THERE WAS STILL NO SIGN OF THEM. JAMBOR SAID A DECISION IN PRINCIPLE HAD BEEN MADE TO GO AHEAD WITH WESTERN NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION--FOR WHICH HE CLAIMED CHNOUPEK HAD ALSO BEEN "FIGHTING" AGAINST GOC CONSERVATIVES-- BUT THE TIME WAS NOT YET RIPE TO IMPLEMENT THE DECISION. HE REITERATED, HOWEVER, THAT SUCH NEWSPAPERS WOULD BE APPEARING "SOON".

9. COMMENT: DURING THIS HOUR-LONG DISCUSSION ON CSCE
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DEVELOPMENTS, JAMBOR NEVER INDICATED THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA OR ITS WARSAW PACT ALLIES HAD ANY INTENTION TO ASK THAT BELGRADE 77 SESSIONS BE POSTPONED BECAUSE OF THE CURRENT IDEOLOGICAL DEBATE OVER HUMAN RIGHTS--DESPITE RUMORS HERE THAT SOVIETS MAY WANT POSTPONEMENT. ON THE CONTRARY, JAMBOR CLEARLY EXPECTED THE EAST-WEST DEBATE TO PROCEED THROUGHOUT THE SPRING AND INTO THE BELGRADE 77

MEETINGS. HE WISHED MAINLY TO SIGNAL PRAGUE'S HOPE THAT THE
DEBATE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IS KEPT WITHIN TOLERABLE BOUNDS.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, COLLECTIVE SECURITY AGREEMENTS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 14-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977PRAGUE00667
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770088-0084
Format: TEL
From: PRAGUE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770362/aaaaccvd.tel
Line Count: 227
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 6f507bb8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3117528
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CZECHOSLOVAK VIEWS RE BELGRADE 77
TAGS: PFOR, SHUM, ETRD, YO, CZ, US, CSCE, (JAMBOR, JIRI)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/6f507bb8-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009